

Interpretation of Du Fu's Poetry by Medieval Japanese Zen Monks: On the “*Shōmono*” 抄物 of Du Fu's Poetry¹

Hiromichi Yoshimura, Ritsumeikan University

Kaifūsō 懷風藻 from the Nara period is the oldest surviving collection of Japanese *kanshi* 漢詩. Its poems were in a formative stage, imitating the poetry of the Six Dynasties and early Tang periods. However, after the middle and later Heian period, distinctly Japanese forms of *kanshi* such as the seven-character regulated verse and *kudaishi* 句題詩 began to emerge amidst the popularity of Bai Juyi's poetry. During the Kamakura period, the practitioners of *kanshi* starkly shifted from aristocrats to Zen monks, marking the beginning of what is called *gozan bungaku* 五山文學, which continued into the Muromachi period. During this time, the literature of the Song and Yuan dynasties—especially Su Shi and Huang Tingjian's poetry from the Northern Song—was held in high regard, as well as the poetry of Du Fu, who greatly influenced them. Influenced by these three figures, Zen monks of the Muromachi period not only composed *kanshi*, but also gave lectures on their poetry and preserved their teachings in *shōmono*. These *shōmono* hold unique significance in the history of Japanese *kanshi* studies as the first interpretive works. This paper outlines the reception of Du Fu's poetry up until the early era of *Gozan Bungaku* and then introduces four *shōmono* on Du Fu's poetry from the middle period and beyond. **Keywords:** medieval Japan, Zen monks, Du Fu's poetry, *shōmono*, Shinge Gentei, *Shinge okudan*, Kōsei Ryūha, *Toshi Zokusuishō*, Jinro Seiju, *Zokuokudan*, Setsurei Eikin, *Toshi shō*

Introduction

The oldest surviving collection of *kanshi* 漢詩 (Japanese poetry written with Chinese characters) in Japan is called *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻. It has a preface dated to the third year of the Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝寶 era (751), and it can be said that *kanshi* in Japan first took shape in this collection. *Kaifūsō* is a collection of poems from the time of the Ōmi court 近江朝 of Emperor Tenji (r. 661–671) to the first half of the Nara period (710–784), with everything compiled in one volume. Poets of the *Kaifūsō* were at the stage of composing works that learned from and were modeled after those of the

¹ This paper is an expanded version of the manuscript of the keynote lecture delivered at the 4th International Academic Conference of the BK21 East Asian Classical Studies Future Talent Education Research Team, held on July 20, 2024, at Sungkyunkwan University, titled “Pre-modern East Asian Language and Literature, and Du Fu.”

Six Dynasties and Early Tang. During a time when Japan was trying to establish a *ritsuryō* 律令 legal system modeled after the Tang dynasty, the composition of *kanshi* served as a means to demonstrate that Japan's literature was not inferior to the literature of other countries within the East Asian Sinographic cultural sphere. The poems in *Kaifūsō* were composed by following the examples of Qi and Liang poetry from works such as *Wenxuan* 文選, *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠, and *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚. Additionally, as for the case of early Tang poetry, works were mainly created by imitating the works of poets like Wang Bo 王勃 (649-676) and Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (640-684). However, at this point, *kanshi* had not yet developed a distinct Japanese style.

Next, in the early Heian period during the reign of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 in the Kōnin 弘仁 era (809–823), three imperial *kanshi* collections were compiled: *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集, *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集, and *Keikokushū* 經國集. The compilation of the three imperial anthologies of Chinese poetry was an undertaking that symbolized an “Era of Chinese-style poetry.” This background, alongside the progress of the *ritsuryō* state system, includes the expansion of an aristocratic and bureaucratic class capable of composing *kanshi*. Additionally, even more so than in the era of *Kaifūsō*, there was an even stronger awareness of *kanshi* as a literary marker of a nation that belonged to the East Asian Sinographic sphere. By that time, the Tang dynasty had already entered the later stage of the mid-Tang period. While three imperial *kanshi* anthologies reflect the reception of mid-Tang poetry, they inherited the poetic style of the Qi and Liang periods of the Southern Dynasties. While it is possible to find some influence of mid-Tang poetry in the three *kanshi* anthologies, they continue the style inherited from Qi and Liang poetry, while the influence of the early Tang style is much more apparent. However, compared with *Kaifūsō*, the standard of poetry composition improved, and a unique world of *kanshi* began to emerge in Japan. Yoshifumi Hangai 半谷芳文's “Research on the Three Imperial Anthologies of Chinese Poetry” 勅撰三漢詩集の研究 (Kenbun Publishing, May 2022) highlights this phenomenon. One example is how the three poems “Respectfully offering a poem harmonizing with the topic ‘Lament of the Spring Bedchamber’” 奉和春閨怨 by Sugawara no Kiyotomo 菅原清公, Asano no Katori 朝野鹿取, and Kose no Shikihito 巨勢識人 “depict the emotions and demeanor of ‘the woman.’ The portrayal of the ‘woman’ in all three compositions presents a beauty that extends also to the figure of the ‘waiting woman’ who appears in Heian-era kana literature, and in this we can already note a unique quality to Japanese *kanshi* poets’ compositions (p. 333). Another example is the phenomenon where the seven-character regulated verse was independently created during the reign of Emperor Saga and later became a prominent poetic form of Japanese *kanshi* during the middle and later parts of the Heian period (see Chapter 4).

Furthermore, after the mid-Heian period, when the seven-character regulated verse became widespread, a unique style of Japanese *kanshi* was born. This style is called

kudaishi 句題詩 (topic poetry).² In this style, a poem's title is created by using a five-character phrase containing two nouns (this is called the “*kudai*”), and the poem is composed following certain rules in the form of a seven-character regulated verse. Detailed information about *kudaishi* can be found in Michio Satou's 佐藤道生 *Kudaishi Study* 句題詩論考 (Bensei shuppan 勉誠出版, November 2016). According to Satou's research, *kudaishi* was a poetic style invented by Sugawara no Fumitoki 菅原文時 (899-981), who was active during the reign of Emperor Murakami (946–967). It was widely practiced among the aristocracy, extending into the Kamakura period. The rules for this style dictate that in the first couplet, the *kudai* is used to express the meaning of the title; in the second and third couplets, the meaning of the title is expressed without using the five characters in the title; the poem concludes with the author expressing their thoughts in the final couplet.

Around the middle of the Heian period, when uniquely Japanese seven-character regulated verses and *kudaishi* were flourishing, the influence of famous poet Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) works was overwhelming. However, by the Kamakura period (1185–1333), Zen Buddhism, Zhu Xi's philosophy, and Song Dynasty poetry and prose were transmitted from China, and the main class of people producing *kanshi* starkly shifted from aristocrats to Zen monks. Later, at the end of the Muromachi period (1336–1573), monks at influential Zen temples in Kyoto and Kamakura—known as “The Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries”—further expanded Chinese literature and *gozan bungaku* (五山文學, “Five Mountains literature”). Needless to say, this important time in the history of Chinese literature in Japan has been the subject of copious amounts of research. In terms of Chinese poets, Su Shi and Huang Tingjian were held in especially high regard. These poets also had a significant influence, as well as Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), who was regarded as a founding figure and highly respected by the Jiangxi Poetry School 江西詩派, which followed Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105).

As will be mentioned later, the full reception of Du Fu in Japan began during the era of *gozan bungaku*. Then, in the Muromachi period, lectures on Du Fu, along with those on Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Huang Tingjian's poetry, began to be given by Zen monks, the results of which were written down and became what is known as *shōmono* 抄物 (“excerpts”). The writing styles of *shōmono* include *kanashō* 假名抄 (written in hiragana and/or katakana), *kanbunshō* 漢文抄 (written in classical Chinese), as well as *shōmono* that mixes Japanese and Chinese writing. *Kanashō* uses colloquial language that would be used in verbal speech, and valuable results have been achieved as research advances on these materials in the study of medieval Japanese. Therefore, traditional research on *shōmono* has largely focused on this aspect, especially *shōmono* on Chinese texts. Although they should be considered the mainstream of *shōmono*,

² ‘Topic poetry’ is the translation offered by Wiebke Denecke in English; her article should be cited here at least in a footnote as further reading. If you can find the citation of her article, please include here, otherwise delete this note.

they have remained confined to the field of medieval oral language studies. However, *shōmono* on Huang Tingjian has finally begun to be examined from the perspective of Chinese literary studies.³

To understand how the Japanese interpreted Chinese texts based on historical documents, the main option was to rely on annotations such as *kunten* 訓點 (marks that aid in reading comprehension) added by the hereditary scholar families 博士家 and other scholars before the emergence of *gozan bungaku shōmono*. *Shōmono* were the written results of Zen monks' meticulous readings of Chinese text, establishing themselves as Japan's first interpretative works in the history of Japanese Sinology.

Several examples have been presented of Japanese *kanshi* since the creation of the previously mentioned *Kaifūsō* from the perspective of its distinctiveness throughout different periods. However, it can be said that *shōmono* held a unique significance in the Muromachi period. In recent years, research has focused on *shōmono* as sources of lost Chinese texts, but studies of *shōmono* should instead focus on their role as interpretative texts—as records of how Zen monks of the *gozan* tradition read and interpreted Chinese texts. With this in mind, I will now introduce the *shōmono* written on Du Fu.

The Reception of Du Fu's Poetry up to the Early Period of *Gozan Bungaku*

In Japan's early Heian period (794–1184), an imperial order was issued to scholar Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (847–897) to document Chinese texts from the Imperial Archives, which included works from various High Tang period poets like Wang Wei 王維 (701–761), Wang Changling 王昌齡 (698–765), and Li Bai 李白 (701–762), and compile them into what is now known as the *List of Writings Currently Held in the Nation of Japan* 日本國現在書目錄 (889). This catalogue also includes mid-Tang period works such as *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集, *Baishi Changqing ji* 白氏長慶集, and *Yuan Shi Changqing ji* 元氏長慶集. However, no collections of prominent poet Du Fu's works were recorded, and this is because it is believed that Du Fu's works had not yet become well known in Japan.

Later, in the latter half of the tenth century, six couplets of Du Fu were selected and compiled in *Senzai Kaku* 千載佳句 by Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888–963), thus solidifying the clear reception of Du Fu's poetry in Japanese literary culture. During this period, the works of Bai Juyi were widely circulated, and since Bai Juyi held Du Fu in high regard, it is possible that the people of the mid-Heian period began to take notice of Du Fu's poetry, as well. The immense influence of Bai Juyi's literature continued into the early Kamakura period (1185–1333), but in its later years, the

³ A groundbreaking achievement in this regard was the publication of *Reading Shōmono: Overview and Commentary of 'Huang's Colloquial Interpretations'* 抄物を讀む—『黄氏口義』提要と注釋— (Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, February 2024) by the Kyoto University Huang Colloquial Interpretations Research Group.

creation of *kanshi* by Zen monks influenced by the literature of the Song and Yuan dynasties began to flourish, marking the beginning of the era of *gozan bungaku* in medieval Japan. *Gozan* monks were particularly attracted to the poetry of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. These two poets were devoted students of Du Fu's poetry, further deepening the reception of Du Fu's works in Japan.

Zen literary traditions centered on Kamakura and Kyoto *gozan* continued beyond this period, spanning the Northern and Southern Courts period (1336–1392), the Muromachi period (1336–1573), and into the early Edo period (1603–1868). The development of *gozan bungaku* is generally divided into three phases: the early phase up until the Nanboku-chō period, the middle phase from the early Muromachi period until around the time of the Ōnin War (1466–1467), and the last phase thereafter.⁴

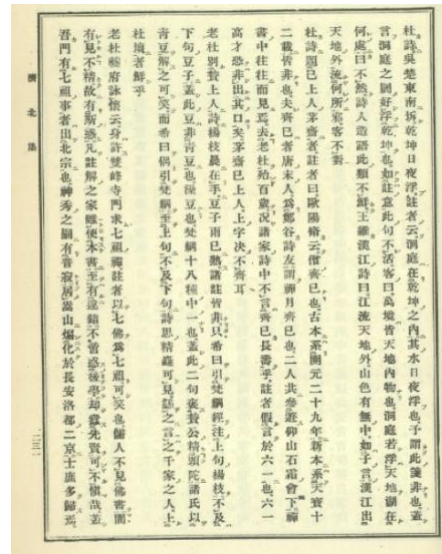
The first Japanese Zen monk whose engagement with Du Fu's poetry is notable during the early phase of *gozan bungaku* is Kokan Shiren 虎關師鍊 (1278–1346), who is known as the “founder” of *gozan bungaku* (p. 340). In Volume 11 of Kokan Shiren's *Saihokushū* 濟北集 titled *Poetry Talks* 詩話, he discusses four of Du Fu's poems: “Ascending Yueyang Tower” 登岳陽樓, “The Thatched Study of Reverend Si” 題已上人茅齋, “Parting from Reverend Zan” 別贊上人, and “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture” 夔府詠懷一百韻. In his analysis of “Ascending Yueyang Tower,” Kokan Shiren critiques a proposed interpretation of the line, “The days and the nights float over Heaven and Earth.” (乾坤日夜浮) He believes a commentator incorrectly interpreted this line as “Dongting Lake exists within the heavens and the earth, and its water floats day and night,” while Kokan Shiren argues a more accurate interpretation would be “Dongting's vastness is well-suited to float amongst Heaven and Earth.” In his analysis of “The Thatched Study of Reverend Si,” Kokan Shiren corrects a commentator who citing Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), mistakenly identifies “Master Si” as Qiji 齊己 (863-937), a poet who lived nearly a hundred years after Du Fu. In “Parting from Reverend Zan,” he points out that the lines “In the morning a willow branch is in his hand, his beans have ripened in the rain” (楊枝晨在手, 豆子雨已熟) are a reference to the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經, and he criticizes the omission of the full citation of the *Fanwang jing* by scholar Huang Xi 黃希, who only mentions the first part of the line. In his final remark, he states, “The poetic thought is clearly both rough and defined. From this, we can say that among the thousands of people, few will surpass Du Fu.” He also criticizes the commentaries on Du Fu's poetry by various families such as the Huang family in the *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi* 集千家註分類杜工部詩集, a collection of commentaries on Du Fu's poems. In “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture,” Kokan Shiren also points out a “laughable” misunderstanding of a commentator's interpretation of the line “As disciple I'll seek Chan's Seventh Patriarch,” (門求七祖禪) where the “Seven Patriarchs” (七祖) are

⁴ Kōshirō Haga 芳賀幸四郎, “Chūsei zenrin no gakumon oyobi bungaku ni kansuru kenkyū” 中世禪林の學問および文學に關する研究, *Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai* 日本學術振興會, (March 1956): 338.

mistaken as the “Seven Buddhas” (七佛). The subject of this line should instead be attributed to Puji 普寂 (651-739), a disciple of Shen Xiu 神秀 (606-706), the leader of the Northern School of Zen. The commentaries on these four Du Fu poems that Kokan Shiren discussed in *Poetry Talks* all appear in the *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi*, suggesting that Kokan Shiren read Du Fu’s poetry through this collection. Kokan Shiren’s ability to critique preexisting Chinese annotations demonstrates his exceptionally detailed and precise reading of Du Fu’s poems. Therefore, Kokan Shiren is not only the “founder” of *gozan bungaku*, but he also paved the way for the study

of Du Fu’s poetry in Japan. Another figure, Chūgan Engetsu 中巖圓月 (1300–1375) examined a claim made about Du Fu in his poetry commentary *Tōin Sasai-shū* 藤陰瑣細集. The claim was originally made in *The New Book of Tang* and stated that Du Fu died in Leiyang after becoming “heavily intoxicated.” However, using an alternative theory from Li Guan 李觀’s “Yibu Du Zimei zhuan” 遺補杜子美傳 and a poem written by Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) “Ti Zimei fen” 題子美墳, Chūgan Engetsu demonstrated that the assertion made in *The New Book of Tang* was false. Moreover, in Chūgan Engetsu’s poetry collection entitled *Tōkai Ichio-shū* 東海一漚集, we can find evidence of Du Fu’s influence. In Volume 1, for example, there are several poems related to Du Fu, including a five-character traditional poem titled “After Casually Reading Du Fu’s Poetry, I Was Moved and Composed My Own,” 偶看杜詩有感而作 a seven-character quatrain titled “One Morning in March, I Was Moved After Hearing a Child Recite Du Fu’s Verses” 三月旦聽童吟杜句有感 and a five-character regulated verse titled “Imitating Old Du: A Playful Composition.” 效老杜戲作俳偕體 These works all exemplify the true embracement of Du Fu’s poetry.

Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388), a disciple of Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351), was also influenced by Chūgan Engetsu, wrote in his work “Preface to a Poem for Master Xiu” 贈秀上人詩序 (found in Volume 11 of *Kuugeshuu* 空華集), “Among those skilled in poetry from the Tang dynasty, none surpass Du Fu,” thereby giving Du Fu the highest praise. Furthermore, Gidō Shūshin was deeply moved by a line from Du Fu’s poem “Presented to Sheriff Liu of Huayang” 貽華陽柳少府: “Literature is merely one minor art, it is not considered with honor in the Way” 文章一小技、於道



Edited by Kankō Uemura, *Gozan bungaku zenshū* 五山文學全集
Saihokushū 濟北集 Volume 11, *shihua*

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未爲尊. This resonated with his belief that the realization of Zen enlightenment was of highest importance, and that literature was merely a method to express such state of mind. He articulated this literary perspective in “Jin River Discourse: Bidding Farewell to Reverend Ji as He Returns Home” 錦江說送機上人歸里 from *Kuugeshuu* Volume 16, stating: “Indeed, the Way is the foundation of learning, while literature is secondary.... Even Old Du, who took great pride in his literary achievements, did he not say, ‘Literary composition is but a minor skill; it is not revered in the Way?’ Truly something to think about!” This way of thinking had a strong influence on literary perspectives within the Zen community.

Zekkai Chūshin 絕海中津 (1336-1405) was honored with the title of “National Preceptor Shōtei” 勝定國師 and, together with Gidō Shūshin, they were praised as the “two jewels” of *gozan bungaku*.

In 1368, Zekkai traveled to Ming dynasty-era China and became a disciple of Jitan Zongle 季潭宗泐 (1318-1391) at the Zhongtianshu 中天竺 Temple, where he also received teachings on Du Fu's poetry. Kōsei Ryūha's 江西龍派 (1375-1443) *Toshi Zokusuishō* 杜詩續翠抄 (which I will discuss further below), Volume 4, in the section titled “Respectfully Accompanying Escort Zheng in Weiqu,” 奉陪鄭駙馬韋曲二首 it states that Zekkai “received teachings from Jitan,” thus displaying the dissemination of Du Fu's poetry. It is recorded in *Gaun Nikkenroku Batsu-yū* 臥雲日件錄拔尤, the diary of Zuikai Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳 (1391-1473), a disciple of Zekkai Chūshin, dated 10th day of the fifth month 1453, that, according to hearsay from Ten'ei Shūken 天英周賢 Zekkai Chūshin and his successor, Gempuku Ekō 元璞慧珙, had a conversation regarding the interpretation of a phrase from Du Fu's poem, “To Pei, Upon Hearing that Judge Yuan Came and Wanted to Investigate.” 贈裴南部聞袁判官自來欲有按問 Zekkai Chūshin suggested that in the line, “Emerging at once, the yellow sand appears” (即出黃沙在), the character *chu* (出), meaning “to come out,” should instead be read as *qu* (屈), “to bend” or “to yield.” This further illustrates how Zekkai was actively engaging in teaching interpretations of Du Fu's poetry. Although the details of Zekkai's lectures on Du Fu's poetry remain unclear, Takami Saburo 高見三郎 divulges in his 1977 article “Selections from Du Fu's Poetry: *Toshi Zokusuishō* to *Toshi shō*” 杜詩の抄—杜詩續翠抄と杜詩抄— (published in *Yamabe michi* 山邊道 No. 21) that there are quotations of Zekkai's interpretations in Kōsei Ryūha's *Toshi Zokusuishō* that were conveyed through his disciple Taihaku Shingen 太白真玄. In Setsurei Eikin's 雪嶺永瑾 (1447-1537) *Toshi shō* 杜詩抄一, the phrase “National Preceptor Shōtei says” (勝定國師云) is also frequently cited, and there are instances when interpretations not found in *Toshi Zokusuishō* are referenced (for example, in Volume 3, “Hokusei” 北征). In *Toshi Zokusuishō* Volume 4 (in the section “Going Late out the Left Palace Gate” 晚出左掖—“Riding a Horse” 騎馬一), it is noted that “National Preceptor Shōtei used annotations,” 勝定國師用批語 indicating that Zekkai used the Southern Song dynasty version of *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji* 集千

家註批點杜工部集—which was compiled by Gao Chonglan 高崇蘭 (also known as Chufang 楚芳) from the Yuan dynasty and edited by Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (1232-1297)—to read Du Fu’s poetry and the commentaries surrounding them. It is said that the reception of Du Fu’s collected works in the Zen community shifted from the *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi* 集千家註分類杜工部詩 during Kokan Shiren’s era to the *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji* 集千家註批點杜工部集 in Zekkai’s era (as discussed in detail by Toru Ota 太田亨 in *The Reception of Chinese Commentaries on Du Fu’s Poetry in Japanese Zen Temples: From the Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi to the Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji* 日本禪林における中國の杜詩注釋書受容—『集千家註分類杜工部詩』から『集千家註批點杜工部集』へ”, *Nihon Chūgokugakkai hō* 日本中國學會報, Volume 55, 2003). There was a gozan edition of *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji*, which was a reprint of the 1368 edition published by Yunqu Huiwentang 雲衢會文堂 from the Nanbokuchō period, and this edition became widely circulated.

Shōmono on Du Fu’s Poetry During the Middle Period of Gozan Bungaku

Zekkai Chūshin’s lectures on Du Fu’s poetry were never fully compiled by his disciples, but during the middle period of *gozan bungaku*, commentaries on Chinese classics and Buddhist texts began to be produced in various forms, such as lecture records, outlines, and memorandum texts. These texts related to Zen lectures are referred to as “*shōmono*,” or “excerpts.” Many *shōmono* were created by Zen monks from Kyoto Gozan, but there were also works done by scholar families (such as the Kiyohara 清原 family, hereditary scholars of Myōgyōdō 明經道), and the subjects ranged from Japanese classics such as the *Chronicles of Japan* 日本書紀 to medical texts. The texts were often written in Classical Chinese, but the use of a more colloquial style using *kana* can also be seen, and sometimes a mix of both classical Chinese and *kana* was used. Since *shōmono* are often written in colloquial speech, they have been used as linguistic sources for studying the Japanese language during the Muromachi period. However, in recent years, their use as research materials for studying Chinese classics has also increased.

Since Du Fu’s poetry was highly valued in Zen circles, it naturally became a subject of *shōmono*. The earliest of this type of work is considered to be *Shinge okudan* 心華臆斷 by Shinge Gentei 心華元棣 (birth and death years unknown). *Shinge okudan* was mentioned by Ten’in Ryūtaku (天隱龍澤, 1423–1500) in his work *Mokugun kō* 默雲稿, where he wrote: “In our country’s Zen community, senior monks such as Dainen 大年 (祥登), Shinge 心華, and Taihaku 太白 have provided extensive oral interpretations. How many have preserved these notes in their drawers or desks? Among them, only *Shinge okudan*, along with *Liu shi pingdian* 劉氏評點 (*Liu Chenweng’s Annotated Edition*) have flourished in this world.” It surpassed the commentaries of monks like Dainen Shōtō and Taihaku Shingen, and it is known that

it was widely accepted throughout the Zen community, along with *Liu shi pingdian*. However, *Shinge okudan* now only exists in excerpts found in later works such as Kōsei Ryūha's *Toshi Zokusuishō* 杜詩續翠抄, Jinro Seiju's 仁甫聖寿 *Zokuokudan* 續臆斷 and Setsurei Eikin's *Toshi shō*. In recent years, scholar Toru Ota has researched *Shinge okudan* using *Toshi Zokusuishō* and *Toshi shō* as the main materials. (As the existence of *Zokuokudan* was only recently confirmed, it was not included in his research.) His findings were published in the paper “On the Du Fu Poetry Commentary *Shinge okudan*—The Nature of Du Fu Commentary in the Japanese Zen Tradition” 杜詩注釋書『心華臆斷』について—日本禪林における杜詩注釋の様相— in *Nihon Chūgokugakkai hō*, Volume 54 (2002). According to this paper, there are 206 instances of *Shinge okudan* commentary in *Toshi Zokusuishō* and around 400 in *Toshi shō*. The former cites summaries of the text, while the latter generally quotes the commentary verbatim. Through these two works, we are able to see four distinctive features of Shinge's annotation methods, which are: 1) the division of annotations into sections 2) the structural analysis of poems, couplets, lines, and characters 3) the analysis of allusions and 4) conjectural interpretations. In point 1, the method of annotation based on the dividing into sections from *Mu Tian Jin Yu* 木天禁語 by Fan Deji 范德機 (1272-1330) of the Yuan dynasty is adopted. Point 2 makes it clear that it incorporates the “poetic form” 詩格 from the Yuan dynasty-era poetry discourse *Shi Fa Yuan Liu* 詩法源流. As for point 3, it reveals the vast knowledge of classical allusions that were not cited by Song dynasty commentators. However, it sometimes crosses the line into over-interpretation, which was notably criticized by Kōsei Ryūha. The conjectural interpretation (point 4) is what the title “*okudan*” (“Speculations”) refers to in *Shinge okudan*, and it is also said that Kōsei Ryūha and Setsurei Eikin have criticized this approach to poetry. An example of this criticism can be seen in the interpretation of the opening lines, “The Left Aide is often an empty position, this year they got a scholar of the old school” (左轄頻虛位, 今年得舊儒) of Du Fu's poem, “Presented to Wei Ji, Vice-Director of the Left” 贈韋左丞濟 that is cited by Kōsei Ryūha in his *Toshi Zokusuishō*.

Shinge says, “If there is no suitable person, the position should remain vacant. Now, if one does not follow the proper methods, even a person who is unworthy could fill the position. If the current Left Aide, even if he's a good person, is removed, Wei can replace him. Much more so if that person is not good. They should definitely be removed. This Wei is a virtuous person, a gentleman.” In response to this interpretation by Shinge, Kōsei Ryūha criticized it as “too far-fetched,” and quoted Zekkai Chūshin (National Preceptor Shōtei), who said, “Those who have been in the position of the Left Aide in the past have not been virtuous people. Therefore, although they were in that position, it was as if the position was vacant. Now, with Wei, the position is filled by the right person, and the position and person are truly well matched—how much more so for the Confucian scholars.” Kōsei agreed with Zekkai's clear interpretation, calling it “simple and acceptable.” Setsurei Eikin's *Toshi shō* incorporates all passages from *Zokusuishō*. Another aspect that can be understood upon viewing this quotation

in its original form is how both *Shinge okudan* and *Zokusuishō* use a style of writing that combines classical Chinese with kana-based colloquial expressions. The same is also true of *Toshi shō*.

Although *Shinge okudan* has been lost, making it impossible to see the full scope of Shinge's annotations on Du Fu's poems, some materials remain that provide insight into how he interpreted the original text. Such material consists of detailed *kunten* annotations in red ink (sometimes also including black-ink annotations) that were added to the 20-volume *gozan* edition of *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji*, which is stored in Yōmei Bunko 陽明文庫 archives in Kyoto. At the end of Volume 20, a note written in red ink states, "Shinge has added reading marks" (心華點寫了) indicating Shinge's comprehension of the original poems via these *kunten*. However, since the note does not explicitly say "Shinge marked this" (心華點了), it is thought that these marks were transcribed by someone else down the line rather than being written by Shinge himself. An excerpt in *Zokusuishō* Volume 7 analyzes the line, "He carried back in hand to toss it to Grand Master Cui" (手提擲還崔大夫) from the poem "A Song for Lord Hua Playfully Written" 戲作花卿歌. Regarding the reading of this line, Shinge's annotations read the two characters *ti* 提 and *zhi* 擲 (lifting and throwing) as a single word, thus interpreting the meaning as "holding it in your hands and sending it back to Grand Master Cui [as one action]" 提擲して. The *kunten* on the right side in the Yōmei Bunko version specifically reads "taking it in hand and sending it back to Grand Master Cui," while "lifting and throwing it away" is marked with red ink on the left side. In these annotations, *tizhi* 提擲 is written as a single word (提擲する), which is consistent with Shinge's annotations, therefore proving that these *kunten* are a transcription originally belonging to Shinge. It is known that Shinge added *kunten* to Du Fu's selections, as later mentioned in the self-preface of his disciple's disciple, Jinro Seiju's *Zokuokudan*, which states, "Master Shinge, the Great Zen Master, in his leisure time after his Zen chanting, used pseudonyms to mark the three collections of Du Fu, Han Yu, and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819)." Therefore, it is safe to say that the Yōmei Bunko version is a valuable source that passed down Shinge's annotations.

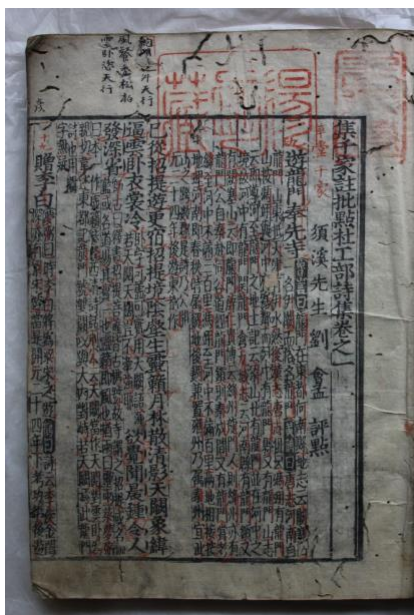
The Yōmei Bunko version contains not only *kunten* of the texts, but also numerous notes written in red and black ink. In Volume 3 of *Zokusuishō*, there is an annotation regarding the line "Federate barbarians' brandished pikes are thick" (雜虜橫戈數) from "Retaking the Capital" 收京三首 that states, "In the *Strategies of the Warring States* 戰國策, Zhu removes his helmet, brandishes his spear, and advances. This was originally referenced by Shinge." In the upper margin of this poem in the Yōmei Bunko version, this same phrase "In the *Strategies of the Warring States* ... they advance with brandished spears" is written in black ink, which can be considered the documentation of Shinge's annotations. Additionally, regarding the phrase "sacred body" 聖躬 in the last poem, there is a red ink annotation in the upper margin that reads: "From Kong Rong's biography 孔融傳 in the *Book of the Later Han* 後漢書: 'The ruler of a myriad chariots is of great weight, the Lord of Heaven is supreme, his body is sacred, and the country is a sacred vessel.'" This annotation is also thought to

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be that of Shinge's. Together with the note on the *Strategies of the Warring States*, this shows a historical allusion not found in the Song dynasty annotations. Further research is awaited on the Yōmei Bunko version of Shinge's annotations.

Shinge's annotations stored in Yōmei Bunko, *Gozan Edition of Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji* 集千家註批點杜工部集

Before the First Page of Volume 1



The Last Page of Volume 20



Volume 3, “Retaking the Capital” 收京三首 其三 Annotation in the Upper Margin



The oldest surviving *shōmono* of Du Fu's poetry is the *Toshi Zokusuishō* (abbreviated as *Zokusuishō*) by Kōsei Ryūha, as mentioned earlier. Kōsei retired to the Zokusui-ken 續翠軒 at Kenninji Temple 建仁寺, which is why he is also known by the alias Zokusui (he was also called Hin'an 豸菴), and this book's title originates from his alternate name. *Zokusuishō* is said to have been compiled by Shukuei Shin'yō 文叔眞要 (birth and death dates unknown) from Kōsei's lectures (according to the previously mentioned paper by Saburo Takami). The Kenninji Ryosokuin 建仁寺兩足院 (with missing Volumes 1, 2, and 20, and Volume 18 partially missing) and the National Diet Library 國會圖書館 hold copies of *Zokusuishō*, with the latter being a reprinted edition from the Edo period based on the former. The Ryosokuin version is reproduced in *Zoku Shōmono Shiryō Shūsei* 續抄物資料集成 (published by Seibundo 清文堂出版, 1980), with Volumes 1 and 2 supplemented by the National Diet Library version.

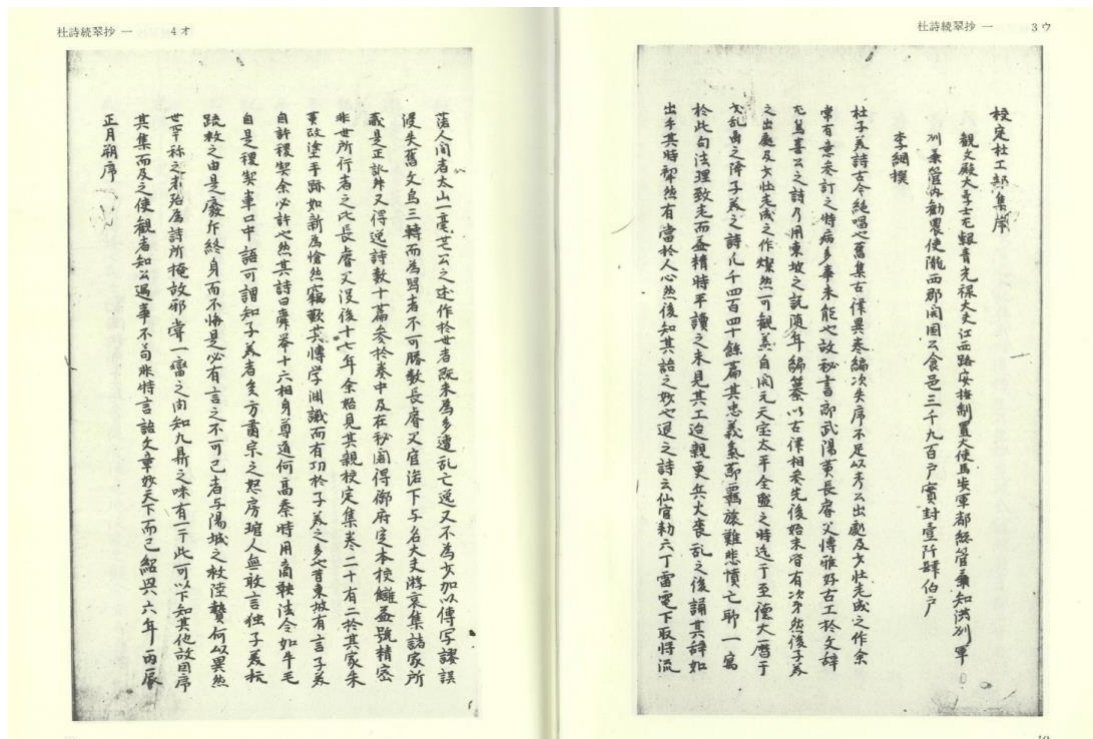
Zokusuishō is a *shōmono* by Kōsei Ryūha, which uses *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji* as its base text. It extensively examines commentaries from the Song and Yuan dynasties, as well as annotations from Liu Chenweng and various Japanese scholars such as Zekkai Chūshin, Dainen Shōtō, and Shinge Gentei. *Zokusuishō* is a *shōmono* that was compiled to present author's views based on these commentaries. As for Song dynasty annotations, apart from those from the base text, *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du gongbu ji*, it also cites annotations from *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi*, also referred to as *senka* 千家. It often uses annotations from Cai Mengbi 蔡夢弼's edited version of *Du gongbu caotang shijian* 杜工部草堂詩箋 (using the modified 40-volume edition with 10 supplementary volumes, rather than the original 50-volume edition), and it occasionally cites the early Ming dynasty work *Du Du shi yu de* 讀杜詩愚得 by Shan Fu 單復.

Moreover, as pointed out by Saburo Takami in his paper "The Layers of *Toshi Zokusuishō* —Centered on Chinese Commentaries on Du Fu's Poetry" 「『杜詩續翠抄』の諸層—中國側杜詩注釋書を中心に—」 (Kokugo Kokubun 國語國文, Issue 616, 1985), the main text's notes sometimes cite something called "revision" 校定. One example is from the line "Grand, indeed, this picture of Kunlun to Fanghu" 壯哉崑崙方壺圖 in the poem "Playful Song on Wang Zai's Landscape Painting" 戲題王宰畫山水圖歌 where the character *hu* 壺 (vessel) is recorded as *zhang* 丈 (height) in the "revised" version (as noted in *Zokusuishō*, Volume 7). Before the main text of *Zokusuishō* Volume 1, the preface to *Jiaoding Du Gongbu ji* 校定杜工部集 is included. This preface was attached to the *Jiaoding Du Gongbu ji*, which was edited by Huang Bosi 黃伯思 (1079–1118) of the Northern Song dynasty. The long official title that includes the author's name is, "Guanwen dian xueshi Zuo Yinqing Guanglu dafu Jiangxi lu anfu zhizhi dashi mabu jun du zongguan jian zhi Hongzhou jun zhou jian guannei quannongshi Longxi jun kaiguo gong shiyi san qian jiu bai hu, shifeng yi qian si bai hu, Li Gang zhuan" 觀文殿學士左銀青光祿大夫江西路按撫制置大使

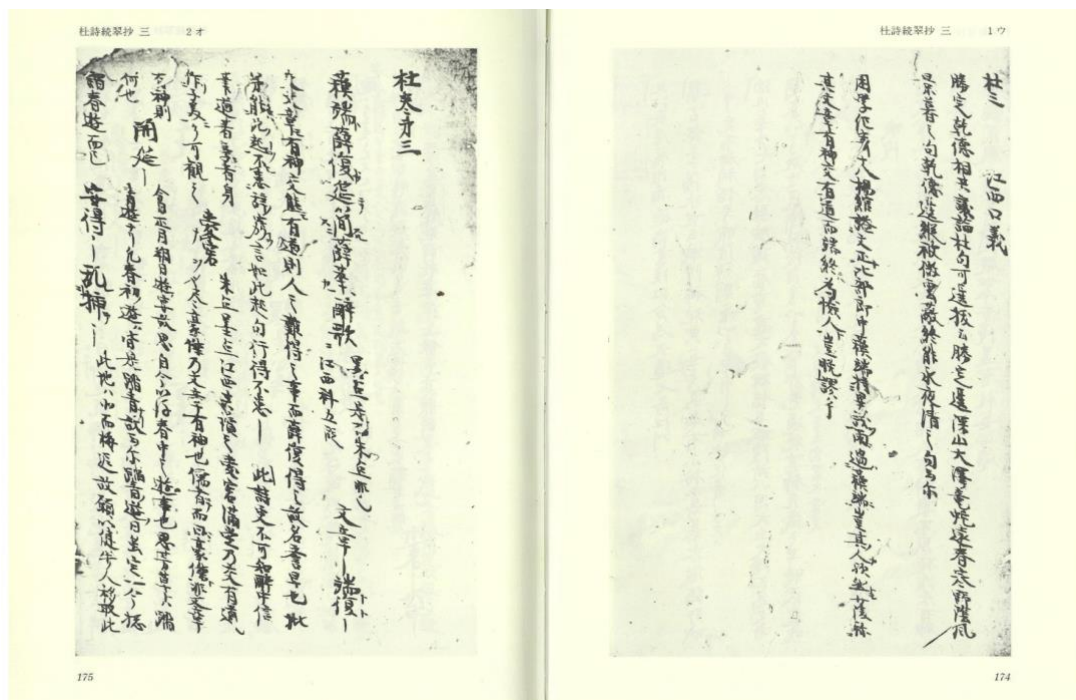
On the “*Shōmono*” 抄物 of Du Fu's Poetry

馬步軍諸總管兼知洪州軍州兼管內勸農使隴西郡開國公食邑三千九百戶實封壹仟肆伯戶李綱撰 The main text concludes with “Shaoxing liunian zhengyue shu xu” 紹興六年 (1136) 正月朔序 *Jiaoding Du Gongbu ji* was published at the beginning of the Shaoxing era by Huang Bosi's son, Shang 裳. After it was brought to Japan, it is thought that Kōsei Ryūha used it to write annotations with alternative readings of the text. *Jiaoding Du Gongbu ji*, consisting of 22 volumes, has become a lost work in China, but the full text of Li Gang 李綱's preface has been preserved in his “Chong jiaozheng Du Zimei ji xu” 重校正杜子美集序 in the *Liangxi ji* 梁谿集, Volume 138 (Siku Quanshu edition 四庫全書本), and can also be found in *Dongguan yulun* 東觀餘論, juan xia 卷下 (*Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書, third series, Jiading 3rd year edition reprint 影印嘉定三年刻本). Since the original text has been lost, its contents cannot be viewed directly. However, *Zokusuishō* preserves fragments of it, which makes *Zokusuishō* as work extremely valuable. Moreover, “Chong jiaozheng Du Zimei ji xu” in the *Liangxi ji* dates the composition period of “Shaoxing liunian zhengyue shu xu,” and there are differences in the main text. (The preface of *Zokusuishō* belongs to the same lineage of texts as those found in *Dongguan yulun*).

Kōsei Ryūha's *Toshi Zokusuishō* cites Li Gang's "Chong jiaozheng Du Zimei ji xu" (as reproduced in the National Diet Library version of *Zoku Shōmono Shiryō Shūsei*)



Toshi zokusuishō, 卷三首 (Reprinted from ryosokuin 兩足院 version in *Zokushōmono shiryō shūsei*)



Shōmono on Du Fu's Poetry in the Late Period of *gozan bunkaku*

The existing *shōmono* of Du Fu's poetry from the later period of *gozan bungaku* had traditionally been considered to be limited to the aforementioned *Toshi shō* by Setsurei Eikin. However, according to the “*Zokuokudan* Preface” 續臆斷序 in Volume 7 of *Kanrinkoroshuu* 翰林葫蘆集 by Keijo Shūrin 景徐周麟, it had been known that there was also a *shōmono* of Du Fu's poetry titled *Zokuokudan* by Jinro Seiju but it had long been thought that there were no extant copies. In recent years, it has been revealed that the Keio Institute of Oriental Classics at Keio University holds Volumes 1, 2, 17, and 18 of a total of twenty volumes (Volume 2 is in good condition, while the other three volumes have missing parts), bound together in a single book (with Volumes 17, 18, 1, and 2 in that order).⁵ The manuscript contains the self-preface written by Jinro in the year 1498 (Meiō 7). It is a draft version with many corrections and revisions alongside supplementary notes. The entire *shōmono* is written in Classical Chinese. Jinro was a disciple of Shinge Gentei's junior disciple; that is to say he was like a nephew in terms of spiritual lineage. He inherited the work of his Dharma uncle, Shinge, and he continued the halted work from Shinge's *okudan*. The self-preface was thought to correspond to Volume 2, but in reality it extends to Volume 5. However, there were other later drafts with different arrangements.

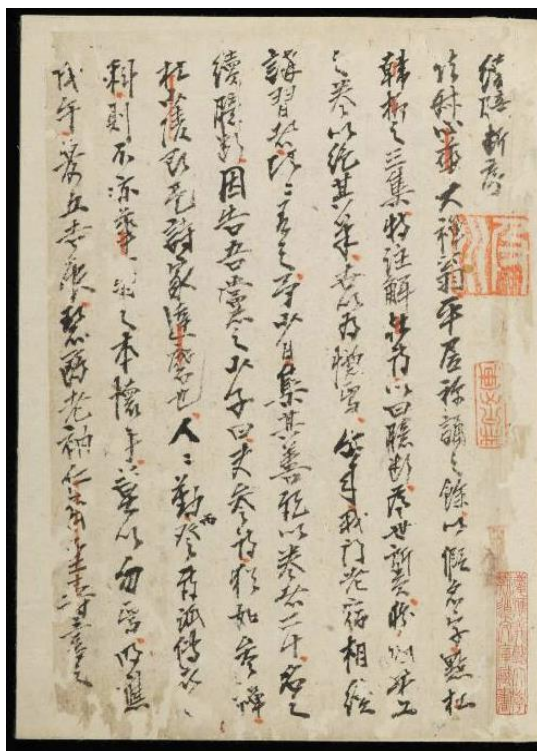
Jinro's *Zokuokudan* also uses *Ji qianjia zhu pidian du gongbu ji* as its base text, and it also references its annotations and the remarks of Liu Chenweng. Additionally, in Song Dynasty annotations, it cites references to *Caotang shijian* 草堂詩箋 with the mark “cao,” 草 and uses “qian” 千 for references to annotations from *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi*. Keijo Shūrin's “*Zokuokudan* Preface” 續臆斷序 states, “All valuable interpretations and marginal notes found in the various commentaries on *Caotang Qianjia* 草堂千家 are compiled under each line or poem, with judgments on whether they are acceptable or not, supplemented with references to *Poetry Talks* as supporting evidence.” Furthermore, the annotation format generally begins by explaining the time period when the poem was composed, followed by the meaning of each couplet or stanza, then an explanation of the structure of the poem, and then ends with annotations on individual words and phrases. Since *Zokuokudan* is a continuation of the work of Jinro's Dharma uncle, Shinge, it naturally contains numerous references to *Shinge okudan* in its annotations. *Zokuokudan* is a newly discovered material, and so far, the only published paper on it is Toru Ota's “A Brief Glimpse at Jinro Seiju's *Zokuokudan* (Held in the Keio Institute of Oriental Classics)” 「仁甫聖壽『續臆斷』(慶應義塾大學斯道文庫所藏) 瞥見」, which appeared in the “Annual Report on Du

⁵ The full text has been made available in the National Institute of Japanese Literature's (NIJL) *National Literature Database* (國 書 デ ー タ ー ベ ー ス), providing easier access for their use: <https://kokusho.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100437682/>.

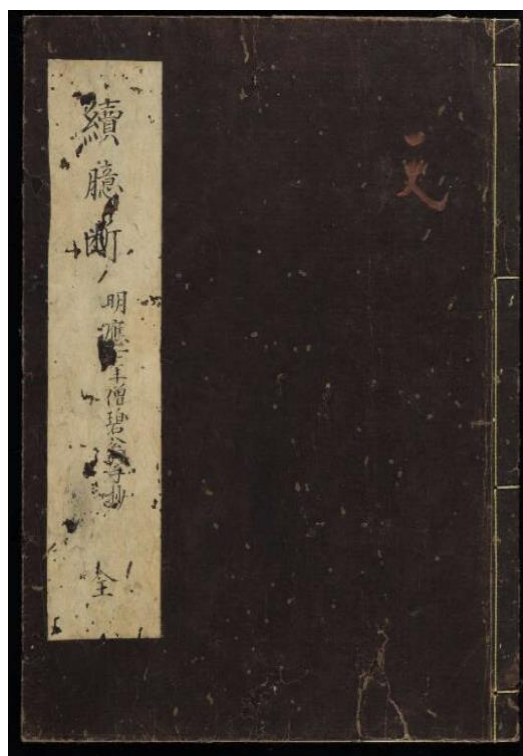
Fu Studies” 杜甫研究年報 Issue No. 4 (Bensei Shuppan, March 2021). Future research progress is anticipated.

Zokuokudan (Held at Affiliated Research Institute in the Keio Institute of Oriental Classics) Source: National Literature Database, <https://doi.org/10.20730/100437682>

Jinho Seiju's “*Zokuokudan* Preface”



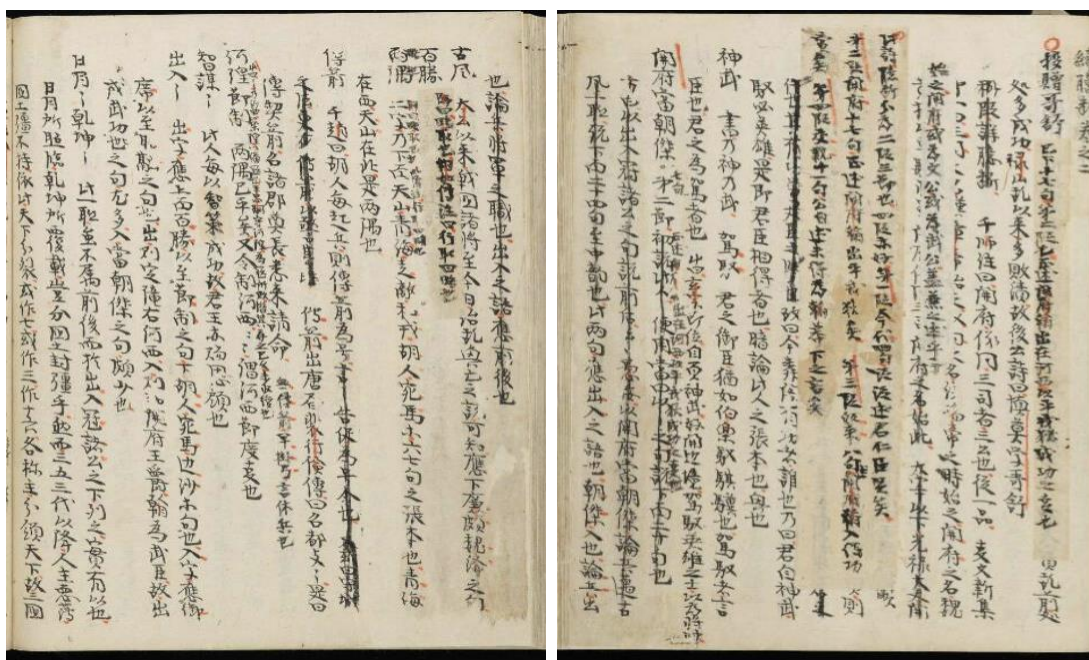
Cover



Title description: “*Zokuokudan*, handwritten by the monk Biweng in the seventh year of the Meiō period, complete.” 續臆斷 明應七年僧碧翁手抄 全 “Biweng 碧翁” is derived from Jinho’s pseudonym “Bi’ouzi” 碧鷗子.

On the “*Shōmono*” 抄物 of Du Fu's Poetry

Zokuokudan, Volume 2, First Page



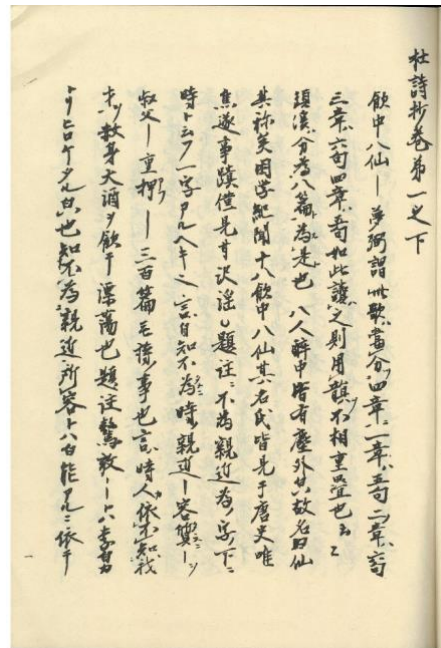
Setsurei Eikin's 20-volume *Toshi shō* is the commentary book that concludes the line of *shōmono* related to Du Fu's poetry. Two versions of this work still exist today. One is the 25-volume copy stored at the Kenninji Ryosokuin 建仁寺兩足院 in Kyoto. This version is missing the section “*Qian*” 乾 in Volume 3, and there are partial losses in Volumes 1, 2, 3, 18, and 20. It includes inscriptions written by Rin Sōji 林宗二 dated from the first year of the Genki era (1570) to the ninth year of the Tenshō era (1581). The writings are attributed to him, plus two other individuals (for more details, refer to Saburo Takami's aforementioned paper, “Selections from Du Fu's Poetry” 「杜詩の抄」). The other version is an incomplete copy up to Volume 12, consisting of eleven volumes that were reprinted from the Ryosokuin version. It is held at the Ashikaga School Iseki Library. This version preserved the first part of Volume 1, as well as Volume 2, the latter half of Volume 3 (“*Kun*”), Volumes 5 through 9, Volume 10 (besides the first three lines), and Volume 12. The Ashikaga edition 足利本, which includes Toki Zenmaro's 土岐善磨 (1885-1980) writings, Saga Kan's 嵯峨寛 notes, and other works, was published with an accompanying explanatory volume, and was reprinted by Kofu-kai 光風社 between 1970 and 1973. However, the publication of the Ryosokuin version has not yet been released to the public.

Setsurei Eikin's *Toshi shō* (Reproduced by Kofu-kai from the Ashikaga School Iseki Library)

Cover



First Page of Volume 1



Setsurei's *Toshi shō* was greatly influenced by *Zokusuishō* and inherited the annotation methods of Kōsei Ryūha. It uses *Ji qianjia zhu pidian Du Gongbu ji* as its base text and references Song Dynasty annotations such as *Caotang shijian*, *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shi*, as well as earlier *shōmono* like *Shinge okudan* and *Zokusuishō* to provide explanations. It can be considered the culmination of Muromachi *Gozan shōmono* regarding Du Fu's poetry. There is an especially large number of quotations from *Zokusuishō*, which had a significant influence on the work. However, there are often cases where such quotations are not indicated, so caution is required when considering the source of an idea. For example, take the line "My dear son will not let go of my knees, dreading I'll go away again" (嬌兒不離，畏我復却去) from the second of the "three Qiang Village poems" 羌村三首 in Volume 3, "Kun" 坤 (the following translations are notes based on *kunten* that were written in a mixed kana style):

[*Toshi shō* (Ashikaga Version 足利本)] 嬌兒一一、畏我一一去

Interpretation according to the left side's *kunten*: 「我ヲ畏レテ復タ却キ去ル」
("Fearing me, the child moves away")

On the “*Shōmono*” 抄物 of Du Fu's Poetry

Interpretation according to the right side's *kunten*: 「我ガ復タ却キ去（ランコトヲ）畏レテナリ」（“The child fears that I might leave again”）

The *kunten* on the right side suggests that the character *wei* (畏) can be interpreted as *kong* (恐, fear). Based on this interpretation, the child clings to Du Fu because he fears he will leave again. However, this interpretation is incorrect. Rather than fear of Du Fu leaving again, the left side *kunten* is interpreted as referring to a long period of separation. Before the separation, me and the child were close; he would never leave my lap. But, after being apart for so long, the child is no longer familiar with me and runs away in fear. After hearing that I am his father, he approaches, but my aged appearance frightens them, and he moves away. Indeed, Du Fu had been away for many years before returning home.

[*Zokusuishō*] 嬌兒一一、畏我復却去

Interpretation according to the left side's *kunten*: 「我ヲ畏テ復タ却キ去ル」（“Fearing me, the child moves away”）

Interpretation according to the right side's *kunten*: 「我ガ復タ却キ去ランコトヲ畏レテナリ」（“The child fears that I might leave again”）

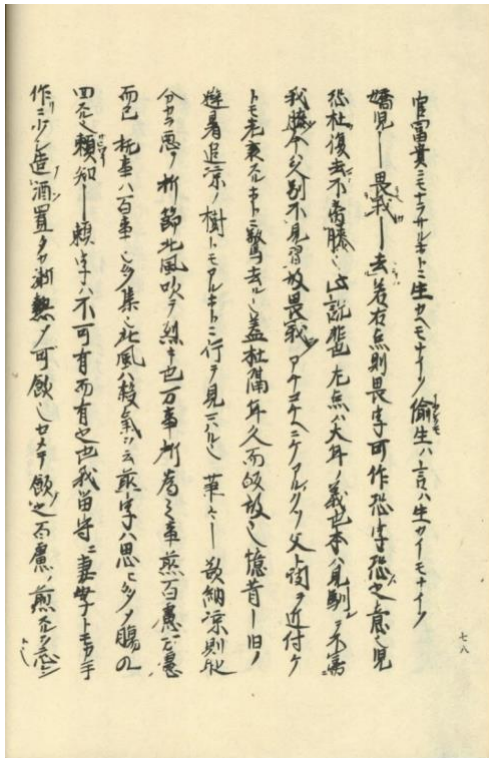
The *kunten* on the right side suggests that the character *wei* (畏) can be interpreted as *kong* (恐, fear). Based on this interpretation, the child clings to Du Fu's lap because they fear he will leave again. However, this interpretation is incorrect. The *kunten* on the left side that suggests a period of separation is correct. Originally, the child was very familiar with me, and wouldn't leave my lap. But now that so much time has passed, the child isn't used to seeing me, so he moves away in fear. Indeed, it must be because Du Fu has been away for so many years and has now returned home.

Aside from the underlined phrase, “After hearing that... he moves away,” *Zokusuishō*'s quotation is basically identical to *Toshi shō*'s. It can therefore be understood from this example that Setsurei utilized *Zokusuishō* and added his own interpretations when compiling his commentaries on Du Fu's poetry.

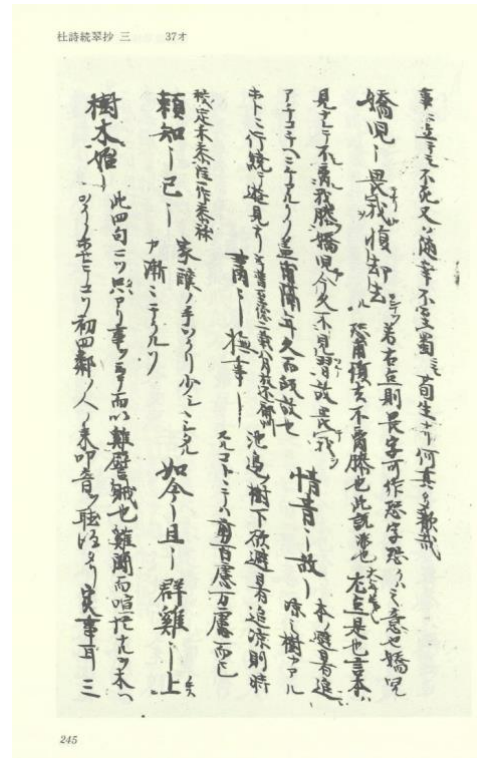
This passage explains how the interpretation of the character *wei* (畏) is divided into two different theories, which are reflected in two types of *kunten*. Regarding this issue, Toki Zenmaro discusses in his essay “The Dear Child Will Not Leave His Knees: On the Nuances of ‘three Qiang Village poems’ 羌村三首” included in the introduction to *Toshi shō* in Volume 4 of the Kofu-kai reprinted edition, that interpretations of the poem also differ between Japan and China. Both Kōsei Ryūha and Setsurei Eikin accepted the interpretation “Fearing me, the child moves away” (我を畏れて復た却き去る). However, there are many researchers today who support the other interpretation. It is evident from *shōmono* on Du Fu's poetry that interpretations have been divided since the era of *gozan*.

It can be said that *shōmono* on Du Fu's poetry are extremely useful when it comes to interpretations. However, the *shōmono* introduced above are still in manuscript form and have not yet been fully organized; further interpretation and research are anticipated.

Setsurei's *Toshi shō*, Volume 3 "Kun,"
"Qiang Village," Poem 2



Kōsei's *Zokusuishō* Volume 3,
"Qiang Village," Poem 2



Translator: Piper J. Chatman